

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 0380

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PDIP, TZ, US, OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT TO AFRICA: BRIEFING PAPER:
TANZANIA'S ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF PRESIDENT NYERERE'S PERSONALITY,
TANZANIA PLAYS AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE EFFORTS OF THE FIVE
"FRONT-LINE" PRESIDENTS -- NOW JOINED BY BRITAIN AND THE US --
TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, AND NAMIBIA, AND RACIAL
EQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

2. GOALS: IN THIS EFFORT, TANZANIA'S FIVE PRIMARY GOALS,
IN APPROXIMATE ORDER OF PRIORITY, ARE: (A) MAJORITY RULE
IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; (B) AVOIDANCE OF BIG POWER INTER-
VENTION; (C) PROMOTION OF MILITANTLY SOCIALIST REGIMES;
(D) MINIMIZATION OF VIOLENCE OR POST-INDEPENDENCE CIVIL WAR;
AND (E) DESTRUCTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID.

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3. RHODESIA: WHILE SUPPORTING ARMED STRUGGLE AS AN ESSENTIAL
FORM OF PRESSURE AGAINST SMITH, TANZANIA HAS COOPERATED WITH
US-UK EFFORTS TO REACH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER,
IT REMAINS DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF SMITH, AND FEARS THERE IS
A US-UK PLAN TO INSTALL A "MODERATE", NON-SOCIALIST
REGIME IN A NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. TANZANIA HAS

HAD DIFFICULTY FINDING A SUITABLY VIABLE AND PRO-SOCIALIST FACTION TO BACK. IT HAS NOW SETTLED ON THE SO-CALLED PATRIOTIC FRONT OF ROBERT MUGABE AND JSHUA NKOMO, ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT IS MILITANT, AND THAT IT PRESUMPTIVELY CONTROLS THE ZIPA GUERRILLA ARMY OPERATING OUT OF MOZAMBIQUE. IN SEEKING A RHODESIAN SOLUTION, TANZANIA HAS LONG CALLED ON BRITAIN TO TAKE MUCH GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR A SETTLEMENT; NOW THAT SMITH APPEARS TO HAVE WALKED OUT OF THE GENEVA TALKS, TANZANIA HAS CALLED ON BRITAIN TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATING WITH THE NATIONALISTS. TANZANIA IS FEARFUL THAT- RHODESIAN INCURSIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE COULD PROVOKE A CALL FOR CUBAN/ SOVIET INTERVENTION, TO PREVENT THE NEED FOR WHICH IT WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE MOZAMBIQUE'S PRESIDENT MACHEL MILITARY SUPPORT. IT HOPES THAT UNITED STATES WILL PUT GREATER PRESSURES ON BOTH BRITAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA, BUT REMAINS BASICALLY SUSPICIOUS OF OUR REAL MOTIVES AND INTENTIONS.

4. NAMIBIA: TANZANIA'S PREOCCUPATIONS WITH NAMIBIA ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE WITH REGARD TO RHODESIA, THOUGH BECAUSE OF NAMIBIA'S GREATER DISTANCE THEY ARE PERHAPS LESS INTENSE. IT FIRMLY BACK SWAPO, AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO URGE DIRECT SOUTH AFRICAN-SWAPO TALKS LEADING TO A TURNOVER OF POWER. TANZANIA ASCRIBES TO THE UNITED NATIONS A RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENSURING NAMIBIAN FREEDOM, SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH IT WISHES BRITAIN TO ASSUME IN RHODESIA. IT HOPES THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL EXERT GREATER PRESSURE ON VORSTER, AND LOOK MORE FAVORABLY ON UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SECURITY COUNCIL INITIATIVES.

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5. SOUTH AFRICA: TANZANIA RECOGNIZES SOUTH AFRICA AS A QUALITATIVELY AND QUANTITATIVELY DIFFERENT PROBLEM FROM RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND HAS A LESS CLEAR NOTION OF HOW MAJORITY RULE AND RACIAL JUSTICE ARE TO BE OBTAINED THERE. IT HAS TENDED TO DOUBT THE EFFICACY OF THE TRADITIONAL AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) AND PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, BUT ITS INTEREST IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM HAS BEEN AWAKENED BY THE NEW LEVEL OF UNREST REVEALED AT SOWETO. TANZANIA'S POLICY WILL CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON ENCOURAGING A GENERAL WORLD BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA, HOPEFULLY WITH GREATER AMERICAN SUPPORT.

6. OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND TANZANIA IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE REAL BUT LIMITED, BECAUSE WE AGREE WITH ONLY SOME OF TANZANIA'S GOALS. NO LIKELY MODIFICATION OF UNITED STATES POLICIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD CHANGE TANZANIA'S SUSPICION OF US, WHICH IS IDEOLOGICALLY BASED. WE SHOULD EXPECT TO CONTINUE TO LIVE

WITH BILATERAL IDEOLOGICAL DISAGREEMENT WHILE COOPERATING
ON ECONOMIC AID AND OTHER MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST.
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